THE CONSULAR COINAGE OF "HERACLIUS" AND THE REVOLT AGAINST PHOCAS OF 608-610

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[SEE PLATES V–VI]

THE coinage of Heraclius with the title of consul falls into two separate groupings, according to whether the coins have two busts on them or only one. The "two-bust" series is as follows:[1]

1. Solidus of typical Carthaginian fabric. Small size.
2. Solidus of "bad" style, with imperial reverse legend.
3. Solidus of "bad" style, with consular reverse legend.
4. Solidus of "good" style, with consular reverse legend.
5. 40 nummi piece, struck at "Alexandria".
6. 40 nummi piece, struck in Cyprus.

(Nos. 2–4: Normal size.)

These coins all bear dates, so that once the system by which they are dated has been ascertained their numismatic and historical setting is not in doubt.

The "one-bust" series is as follows:

7. ¼ siliqua.
8. 40 nummi piece.
9. 20 nummi piece.
10. 10 nummi piece.
11. 5 nummi piece.

This whole series was struck at Carthage. In the case of nos. 8 and 9 the mint-name is explicitly given on the coins; the others can be assigned to the same mint by considerations of provenance and style, and analogies with other coins. None of them bears any indication of when it was struck.

The problem of how these "consular" coins should be fitted into the framework of the reign of Heraclius is not a new one. The earliest students of Byzantine coinage did not indeed recognize its existence, for they attributed such few consular pieces as they knew to Heraclius Constantine, reading the CONS in the legend as CONS(TANTINVS) instead of as CONS(VΛ). But with the discovery of coins in which CONSVΛ was fully legible this solution became untenable, and Baron Marchant, in the case of nos. 7 and 9 above, proposed a new

[1] A detailed description is given in the Appendix.

one.[2] He argued that the absence of imperial title and ornaments precluded one from assigning them to a reigning monarch, and by an ingenious interpretation of the text of the *Chronicon Paschale* sought to prove that the coins were struck by the authority of the Senate of Carthage in honour of the exarch Heraclius during the first months of his son's reign (October 610–January 611). The *Chronicon* tells us, in effect, that the Emperor Heraclius only assumed the consulship on 15 January 611, and that legal documents of the first four months of the reign (5 October 610–14 January 611) were dated by the regnal year alone and not, as was the current practice, by both regnal year and consulate.[3]

The second of these arguments is not very convincing. Heraclius' postponement of his assumption of the office of consul till the year after his accession was in accordance with current practice—Phocas, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, had done the same—and although the further and most unusual postponement of the initial date from 1 to 15 January and the curtailment of the ceremonies to which the *Chronicon* also alludes are still unexplained, there is no reason to connect them with any office which the elder Heraclius might have held. Nor does the use of the dative case in the consular legend (DN HЄRACΛIO CONSVΛI) imply a special act of homage on the part of the Senate. The dative had been used on Carthaginian coins of Justin II (DN IVSTINO ЄT SOFIЄ AG) in conjunction with an exergual VITA,[4] and it was constantly used on later coins of Heraclius himself of Carthage (DN ЄRACLIO PPA, &c.).[5] It was in fact to be understood in conjunction with the *Victoria* legend on the reverse, which was also followed by the dative: VICTORIA CONSVΛI on these consular coins, VICTORIA AVGG on the imperial ones. On the bronze, where there was no reverse legend, such pious and patriotic sentiments were naturally intended to be understood.

But Baron Marchant's first argument, though ignored by subse-

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[2] *Lettres du Baron* [*N. D.*] *Marchant sur la numismatique et l'histoire*, nouv. edn. (Paris, 1851), pp. 304–12. The first edition of this particular "letter" (no. xxii) was in 1827.

[3] *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), i. 701–2.

[4] W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, i (1908), pp. 99–100 and 99, n. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 229 ff.

quent scholars, is one that must carry great weight. On the "one-bust" series of coins, the consul has a cross on his head, which is otherwise bare, and holds an eagle-headed sceptre; on the "two-bust" series there is a cross between the two heads, and neither figure holds anything in his hands. On neither series, therefore, is there any trace of imperial ornaments. The eagle-headed sceptre was a symbol of consular and not of imperial authority; it figures, for example, on the famous diptych of Boethius at Brescia and on that of Anastasius at Paris. This is in sharp contrast to the consular busts which had appeared so frequently on the imperial coinage since the reign of Tiberius II. These busts had often held consular instead of imperial insignia—*mappa* or sceptre instead of globus cruciger—but they had invariably been crowned. The absence of any regular symbol of sovereignty, and of any reference to such in the legends,[6] makes it difficult to suppose that the coins were struck by a reigning monarch.

Baron Marchant's views were accepted by de Saulcy[7] and Penon,[8] but the discovery of coins of the "two-bust" series led to a re-examination of the whole question by Anatole de Barthelémy in two articles published in 1857 and 1860.[9] His main argument was that coins with consular legends must have been specially struck for distribution to the people on the occasion of the solemn inauguration of the emperor in this office on the first day of the year. The silver and copper coins, which formed the "one-bust" series, he assigned to January 611,[10] when Heraclius assumed the consulship at Constantinople and while he had still no associate on the throne. The gold coins, on the strength of the exergual CONOB, he attributed to the mint of Constantinople. The "bad style" series—no. 3 was the

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[6] DN and DMN are ambiguous—they could stand for *Dominus* or *Dominus noster*—and *Dominus* could be applied to many officials, including the consuls; see P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Diss. Jena, 1903), p. 82, n. 6.

[7] F. de Saulcy, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), pp. 52–3.

[8] C. Penon, "Description de quelques médailles byzantines", *Revue belge de numismatique*, 2nd ser. v (1855), pp. 407–8.

[9] "Lettre à M. Zaepffel sur les monnaies consulaires frappées pendant le Bas-Empire", *Revue numismatique*, 2nd ser., ii (1857), pp. 247–63, and pl. vii; "Monnaies consulaires du Bas-Empire", *ibid.*, v (1860), pp. 129–31, and pl. vii. 1.

[10] Barthelémy says 610, but this is an obvious slip. He did not know of the existence of nos. 5 and 6 above, bronze coins with two busts.

only one of these which he knew—he dated 631, the year in which Heraclius Constantine was associated with his father in the consulship; the two busts were bearded because Heraclius Constantine was now in his twentieth year and had had the title of Augustus since 613. The "good style" series he attributed to 640, when Heracleonas was also made consul; the two busts would be Heracleonas, without beard because he was only fourteen years of age, and either Heraclius Constantine or Heraclius himself.

This arrangement was followed in its entirety by Sabatier,[11] and with considerable modifications by Wroth.[12] The latter transferred the gold coins from Constantinople to Carthage, and argued that the consulship of Heracleonas could be ignored; the fact that both effigies on the "bad style" series were bearded he attributed to the carelessness of an unskilful artist. All three series were struck on the same occasion, presumably that of the elevation of Heraclius Constantine to the consulship, an event which Wroth ascribed, probably wrongly, to 629 instead of 631.[13] For the silver coins and the pieces of 5 nummi he accepted the date 610/11, but the rest of the bronze he left undated, though there is no very apparent reason why it should be separated from the 5 nummi piece.

A different point of view was taken by Count Tolstoi.[14] Laying stress on the existence of the folles of "Alexandria" (no. 5), of which he himself possessed one and the Hermitage another of the three specimens then known, he pointed out that Alexandria must be considered an alternative mint to Carthage, and he rightly proposed to transfer to it the "bad style" solidi (nos. 2 and 3). With regard to the dates, he proposed to rely on those which he found on the coins themselves—the terminal IΑ, IB, and IΓ on the legends of the gold,

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[11] J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, i (Paris, 1862), pp. 263–6.

[12] Wroth, *op. cit.*, i. 231–7.

[13] Nicephorus states that Heraclius Constantine was nominated consul on the occasion of his father's triumphal entry into Constantinople after the end of the Persian war, and appears to date it the 2nd indiction (September 628–August 629). The triumph no doubt did take place in 629, but the dating of documents (e.g. a letter of Pope Honorius in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, ii. 18; ed. C. Plummer, i. 122) would place the consulship in 631, and it seems likely that Nicephorus, whose chronology is always uncertain, has confused two distinct events.

[14] J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines*, fasc. vi (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 662–4.

Years XIII and XIV on the "Alexandrian" bronze—and ascribe them to 620/1 and the years following. The date of the consulship of Heraclius Constantine he dismissed as irrelevant, on the ground that the legend had HERACΛIO CONSVΛI in the singular, and that therefore only the consulship of the father was in question. The consular robes worn by the second figure on the gold coinage and the folles of "Alexandria" he explained as being due to the fact that since Heraclius Constantine was co-emperor he had a right to appear on the coins, but that he could not wear imperial insignia when his father was without them. With regard to the "one-bust" series, Tolstoi gave no clear lead at all.[15]

If neither of these scholars reached conclusions that are correct in their entirety, their views do at least mark some progress towards the truth. Wroth transferred the solidi from Constantinople to Carthage, and eliminated the consulship of Heracleonas; Tolstoi made the further transfer of some of the solidi from Carthage to Alexandria, eliminated the consulship of Heraclius Constantine, and read the terminal letters on the legends of the solidi as year and not *officina* numbers. But both scholars continued to ignore the original objection raised by Baron Marchant, that at this period coins in which a Byzantine ruler is depicted without imperial title or imperial ornaments could not have been struck during his reign. In any case, so far as any coins struck at Alexandria were concerned, the dates proposed by Tolstoi could be absolutely eliminated, for during these years Alexandria was in Persian hands. The city was captured by the generals of Chosroes in 617, and it was not till 628/9, after the end of the Persian War, that it was restored, with the rest of Egypt and the other conquered provinces, to Roman control.[16]

The dating of the "two-bust" series provides us with the correct solution to the problem.

The legends on the "good style" solidi end with the Greek letters IA, IB, or IΓ; on the obverse of the "bad style" series these have been blundered (CONSVLIBA for CONSVLIIA), but the reverse legends of those with consular reverses end correctly IA. These

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 639.

[16] For the dates of the conquest and evacuation of Egypt, see A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 70 ff., 498–507. Wroth (p. xxvi) saw the difficulty, but offered no suggestion towards a solution.

letters have been interpreted both as *officina* numbers and as dates. Wroth preferred the former, though without excluding the second possibility; Tolstoi regarded them as dates. Both scholars very reasonably supposed that if they were dates, they were reckoned by regnal years, such being the normal procedure on the bronze coinage of the empire; they would thus belong to the years 620/1, 621/2, and 622/3. In another article,[17] however, I have shown that the solidi struck at Carthage by Maurice and Phocas are dated by indictions, not by regnal years, and that the same method of computation was carried on during the reign of Heraclius. Since the "thick-fabric" solidi (no. 1) can be attributed to Carthage without any doubt, this gives us, for the gold coinage, the alternatives of 622/3, 623/4, and 624/5, or 637/8, 638/9, and 639/40—or 607/8, 608/9, and 609/10. An examination of the date-series of the Carthaginian solidi shows that the first two of these possibilities must be ruled out. Early in the reign of Heraclius the solidi of Carthage underwent a remarkable change in module, and those of the late twenties and the early thirties are entirely different in size from those with consular legends; we have, in fact, other solidi for these precise years. On the other hand, the consular solidi are intermediate in size between the last solidi of Phocas and the first of Heraclius as emperor, and stylistically are closely related to both. They must, therefore, be dated 607/8, 608/9, and 609/10.

Essentially the same is true of the "two-bust" folles of "Alexandria" with dates ANNO XIII and ANNO XIV and that of Cyprus with the date ANNO XIII. One would expect these dates to refer to regnal years, but this, as we have seen, is impossible; Alexandria in Egypt was in Persian hands during the years 622/3 and 623/4, and the same was true of Alexandria *ad Issum*, which, as I shall show, can put forward a rival claim to the coins. Their clear stylistic relationship to the Carthaginian solidi makes it certain that they were struck under Carthaginian influence, and it is only reasonable to assume that they would follow the Carthaginian system of dating.[18] We can therefore assign them to the years 609/10 and 610/11, and

[17] "Dated solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius", *Num. Chron.* 1950, pp. 49–70.

[18] Such a proceeding would in fact be necessary if they were to be dated at all, as Heraclius could have no regnal year before his accession.

assume that they form part of the same group of coins as the solidi.

This early date for the whole group of "two-bust" coins is confirmed, as far as the solidi of large flan are concerned, by the evidence of the Chatby Hoard of gold coins, found at Alexandria in 1903.[19] The contents of this hoard may be summarized as follows:

Fourth-century emperors	8
Justin I	12
Justinian	7
Justin II	9
Tiberius II	36
Maurice	50
Phocas	58
Heraclius	10
Unidentified	1
Undecipherable	1
	192 coins

The Heraclius coins include five solidi. Three of these are of the rare "Phocas" type, struck at the very beginning of the reign, with crowned and bearded bust facing and Victory reverse (Sabatier, pl. xxviii. 7; Wroth, pl. xxiii. 1); the other two are consular types, one of "bad" and the other of "good" style. The remaining coins of Heraclius are a semissis (Sabatier, pl. xxviii. 10; Wroth, pl. xxiii. 13–15) and 4 tremisses (Sabatier, pl. xxviii. 12; Wroth, pl. xxiii. 16–18). The semissis and tremisses cannot be precisely dated, and so do not help us, but the fact that the only solidi of Heraclius in the hoard, other than the consular ones, are of the "Phocas" type, which was struck in the last two months of 610 and was discontinued early in 611, and that the hoard contains not one of the "helmeted bust" type struck from 611 to 613, and still less any of those in which Heraclius Constantine is associated with his father and which were struck from 613 onwards, is as clear evidence as one could wish that the hoard was buried early in 611. This means that the consular series of "two-bust" solidi were struck in 611 or earlier, and confirms up to the hilt the date for these which we had already arrived at from a different series of considerations.

[19] The hoard is described, not very adequately, by E. D. J. Dutilh, "Une trouvaille de 191 monnaies en or byzantines et d'une pièce en argent", *Revue belge de numismatique*, lxi (1905), pp. 155–64.

We may take it, then, as a fact that the whole of the "two-bust" consular series was minted between 607/8 and 610/11, and that it was minted at Carthage, "Alexandria", and Cyprus. Carthage and Alexandria in Egypt were in fact during these years the capitals of the two provinces in revolt against Phocas, and it is to the history of the revolt that we must turn in order to understand the circumstances in which the coins were struck.

The detailed history of the revolt is unfortunately only known to us in a very inadequate fashion. The Greek historians are interested in it only in so far as it affected the capital, and tell us little about what was happening in North Africa; John of Nikiou, exceptionally well informed on the history of events in Egypt, concerns himself little with those outside his own province. We have no account from Carthage at all.[20] But it is clear that the revolt, under the nominal headship of the elder Heraclius, exarch of Africa, began in 608, and that Alexandria was occupied almost at once by his general Nicetas, for already in that year the sailing of the grain transports to Constantinople was suspended. In 609 Phocas's general Bonosus, the *comes orientis*, made a resolute but unsuccessful attempt to recover Egypt, and it was not until the late summer of 610 that the younger Heraclius, son of the exarch, set sail for the capital. The story later current in Constantinople, and retailed by Theophanes and Nicephorus, was that Heraclius and Nicetas engaged themselves in a race for the Hellespont, one by sea and the other by land, with the imperial crown as the agreed prize for the winner. This is certainly a fiction, for the invasion of Egypt by Nicetas antedated by two years the sailing of Heraclius for Constantinople. The arrival of Heraclius off the Golden Horn was the signal for a popular rising; Phocas was seized and put to death, and on 5 October 610 the victor was acclaimed emperor by the Senate and people and crowned by the patriarch.

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[20] The Constantinopolitan historians—the *Chronicon Paschale*, Theophanes, Nicephorus, and Cedrenus—are most conveniently available in the Bonn edition; John of Antioch (frag. 218) is in C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, v. 37–8; and the account of John of Nikiou is in the *Chronique de l'évêque Jean de Nikiou*, cc. 106–10 (ed. H. Zotenberg in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, xxiv, part i (1883), pp. 540–53). The poem of George of Pisidia on the victory of Heraclius (ed. L. Sternbach in *Wiener Studien*, xiii (1891), pp. 8–11) tells us nothing relevant.

Africa and Egypt had thus been for two years in revolt against Phocas before Heraclius assumed the crown. In other words, there had been an interregnum from 608 to 610 so far as these provinces were concerned. But a great expedition such as that which the exarch had in preparation would necessarily require considerable supplies of coin, especially of small change, and such supplies could only come from the mints of Carthage and Alexandria. It is easy to picture the dilemma in which the rebels must have found themselves. They would naturally be unwilling to continue minting in the name of the hated tyrant Phocas. At the same time, it was inexpedient for the younger Heraclius to assume the imperial title before he reached Constantinople. It would be highly irregular, and an affront to the Senate and people of the capital; it would also alienate Priscus, the son-in-law of Phocas, who was privy to the conspiracy and a possible candidate for the throne. The whole revolt, in fact, took place in the name of the elder Heraclius, and it was known that the latter did not himself aspire to imperial office. The only reasonable alternatives[21] would be to strike an anonymous coinage or one in the name of the exarch.

We have at this point to resort to conjecture. We know that coins were being struck in the name of an *Heraclius consul* during the years 608–10; we have to explain how this came about. The only feasible explanation seems to be that the elder Heraclius assumed, or had conferred upon him by the Carthaginian Senate, the consular title, and that with this title he proceeded to strike money in his own name.[22]

Such a proceeding would no doubt be highly irregular from the constitutional point of view; but so after all was the revolt itself and the dilemma in which the leaders found themselves. The Senate of Carthage had greatly increased in power during the last days of the

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[21] Totila, when at war with Justinian, had adopted the expedient of minting in the name of a deceased emperor (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards . . . in the British Museum*, p. 85, n. 2), but what was possible for a Gothic king was not equally possible for an aspirant to the imperial throne.

[22] It may be noted that the honorary title of consul or *exconsul* was borne by many high officials, including the exarch of Africa, in the sixth and seventh centuries; see C. Courtois, "*Exconsul*. Observation sur l'histoire du consulat à l'époque byzantine", *Byzantion*, xix (1949), 37–58. But I imagine that something more was involved here.

empire and the period of Vandal occupation,[23] but that still did not give it the right to nominate a consul; this was the prerogative of the Senates of the two capitals, and even then these bodies only endorsed the names of candidates "commended" by the emperor. Nor did the title of consul carry with it the right of striking coin; if in some cities a strong tradition in favour of senatorial or municipal bronze had persisted or been recently revived,[24] the minting of gold had been an imperial monopoly since the end of the Republic. But constitutional niceties such as these would necessarily take second place in the face of events and the need to find some respectable authority in whose name coins could be struck.

Despite the fact that two consular busts appear on the coins, it seems probable that only the exarch had actually assumed the title. The reasons for this are that the title in the legend (DN ЄRACΛIO CONSVΛI) is invariably in the singular; that there exists a second series of consular coins with only one bust; and that, if both persons depicted on the coins held the same office, the order of precedence is the wrong way round. The rigid ceremonial of the Byzantine court, which in this respect was always reflected on the coins, required that in the case of associated rulers the senior colleague should be on the spectator's left, the junior on his right. This was an invariable rule; it can be seen on the coinage showing Theodosius II and Valentinian III, Leo I and Leo II, Leo II and Zeno, Justin II and Sophia, Tiberius II and Anastasia, Maurice and Constantina, Phocas and Leontia, Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine, and so on.[25] But on all of the "two-bust" consular series, except the "bad style" solidi whose evidence on this point can be neglected, the unbearded (i.e. junior) figure is on the left, the senior (i.e. bearded) figure is on the

[23] The evidence for this is the striking at Carthage in the Vandal period of large bronze coins, either anonymous or with the legend KARTHAGO and the horse's head or the standing figure of Carthago (W. Wroth, *Coins of the Vandals* . . ., pl. i). Wroth assigns them to the Vandal kings and dates them too early. They are in fact the counterpart of the large bronze coins struck under Odoacer and the Ostrogoths by the authority of the Roman Senate (*ibid.*, pls. xiii–xiv), and can be ascribed with confidence to the Senate of Carthage.

[24] In addition to Rome and Carthage, cited in the last note, Ravenna struck some bronze coins during the Ostrogothic period (*ibid.*, pl. xiv. 8–9).

[25] No doubt it is also true for the coinage of Justin I with Justinian and Justin II with Tiberius II, but in these cases the figures are not clearly differentiated from one another.

right; the left-hand figure is also sometimes slightly smaller than the other. The elder Heraclius is here in fact taking the junior position because his colleague, though not at the moment his equal, is in fact the potential ruler of the empire.[26] It is perhaps for the same reason that both figures, though wearing consular robes, do not hold any of the symbols of consular rank; only on the "one-bust" series, where the consul appears alone, does he hold the consular eagle-headed sceptre.

With regard to the mints employed, the "small" solidi can be attributed with confidence to Carthage; they are of characteristic Carthaginian fabric and take their place naturally in the date-sequence of solidi struck at that mint. The large solidi can be ascribed to Alexandria, despite the manifest differences between those of "good" and those of "bad" style, both on grounds of provenance—it will be remembered that specimens of nos. 3 and 4 have been found in Alexandria itself—and because their use of old dies of Tiberius II shows that they were produced in an already existing mint. The probable sequence of issues was (1) "bad" style with "imperial" reverse, (2) "bad" style with "consular" reverse, and (3) "good" style. All the "bad style" coins are dated, in a blundered manner, IA, i.e. 607/8. Probably when Nicetas captured Alexandria in 608 the mint was ordered to strike solidi of the normal size but according to the pattern of those already minted in Carthage. With a scratch lot of incompetent workmen it produced the "bad style" obverse, with two bearded busts and blundered legend, but instead of designing a new reverse it used an old reverse die of the reign of Tiberius II, despite the inappropriateness of its AVG legend. The mint next produced a new reverse, modelled on that of the Carthage solidi though differing slightly in the legend; these new reverses were used in conjunction with the obverses already engraved, producing the die linkages to which attention is called in the appendix. Finally, since the Alexandrian work was really so deplorable, workmen from Carthage were called in to do something better, and these produced the "good" style of solidi of the dates IA (607/8), IB (608/9), and

[26] A parallel is provided by the reverses of the coins of Leo II and Zeno, in which Leo II, though only a child and therefore the smaller figure of the two, was technically the senior colleague and is consequently given the place of honour on the left.

IΓ (609/10); possibly an IΔ, corresponding to the follis with the date ANNO XIV and struck in September and October 610 before the news of Heraclius' success could reach Alexandria, is still to be found. The likeness between the "good style" solidi and those of small flan is so close that they were patently produced by the same workmen, and one would be inclined to follow Wroth and ascribe them to Carthage but for the difference of flan[27] and the Egyptian provenance of at least two of the existing specimens.

The consular folles were struck in Cyprus and at "Alexandria", as is stated by their exergues. In the case of the Cyprus coin, this adds an interesting detail to our knowledge of the history of the revolt. None of our literary sources mentions Cyprus, but the Cypriote follis—no doubt struck at the capital, Constantia—proves that the island had been seized by the troops of Nicetas as early as the year 609/10. It also, in all probability, provides the explanation for a passage in the life of St. John the Almsgiver which scholars have found some difficulty in explaining. According to the biography, it happened once that when a general named Aspagourius was marching against Constantia, expecting to be received peaceably by its citizens, they made a show of resistance, and a fight was only avoided when John intervened to make peace.[28] The incident is placed in the biography after the flight of John to Cyprus when Egypt was invaded by the Persians (616 or 617), and it has been suggested that Aspagourius was a Persian officer. Scholars have noted the fact, however, that there is no other record of the Persians ever reaching Cyprus, and called attention to the difficulty of explaining why Aspagourius, marching "against" (ἐπί) the capital, yet expected the inhabitants to receive him peaceably. If we assume that the biographer, reminded of the incident by mentioning the flight of John to Cyprus in 616/17, has inserted it at the wrong place

[27] Wroth did not feel any difficulty in ascribing two quite different types of coin to the same mint, for he followed de Salis in assigning to Carthage a double series of solidi, one globular and the other of "normal" flan, during the later years of the century. It seems to me most unlikely that the same mint would have been simultaneously issuing two series so different from one another, and I would provisionally ascribe the later solidi of normal size to Italy.

[28] H. Delehaye, "Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumonier", *Analecta Bollandiana*, xlv (1927), p. 25 (*cap.* 13); E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), p. 206; cf. Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940), i, p. 282, n. 1.

and that it really belongs to 609/10, the difficulties are at once cleared up; Aspagourius would be an officer of Nicetas, and, without being able to count upon it, might reasonably hope that the people of the island would favour the cause of the rebels. This in turn would explain how John, a native of Cyprus having no previous connexion with Egypt, was brought to the favourable notice of Nicetas and appointed patriarch of Alexandria by him the following year.

The folles of "Alexandria" have been very naturally assigned by all scholars who have worked on this period to Alexandria in Egypt, and the fact that this was the chief stronghold of Nicetas during the revolt affords a strong presumption that the ascription is correct. But it is not without its difficulties. The denomination (40 nummi) is unknown in Egypt, and was never struck there on any other occasion;[29] the coins are dated, which was never the case with the bronze coinage of Alexandria; the style does not in the least resemble that of the Alexandrian mint; and the normal bronze coins of Alexandria have invariably the mint-mark ΑΛЄΞ, while these have ΑΛЄΞΑΝ or ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔ. The existence of the Cyprus coins raises the possibility that these folles should be assigned not to Alexandria in Egypt but to Alexandria *ad Issum* (Alexandretta), which lay only 100 miles away on the Syrian coast between Mt. Amanus and the sea, and whose occupation by the rebels would cut the coastal road and incommode traffic on the inland road connecting Antioch and all south of it with Cilicia and Constantinople.

It is no decisive argument against this hypothesis to say that no coins had been struck at Alexandretta since the reign of Alexander Severus in the third century A.D., for the same is true of Cyprus; the issue was an exceptional one in any case, and if a mint could be set up at Constantia one could just as easily be set up at Alexandretta. It is clear on stylistic grounds that the Cyprus and "Alexandria" folles were designed by the same hand, and the details of dress and hair show that they were copied from the "bad style" solidi of Alexandria in Egypt. But a number of minor differences, such as the fact that the word CONSVL is written invariably with a Ч (as

[29] The Egyptian follis was a piece of 12 nummi, not 40 nummi as elsewhere. The only larger denomination ever minted in Egypt was a piece of 33 nummi struck at Alexandria by Justinian, and to judge by the present rarity of specimens the issue must have been a very brief one.

in ꓔHЄЧP′ on the mint-mark of Antiochene coins of Phocas) on the folles and as V on the Alexandrian solidi, suggests that they were not struck by Egyptian workmen and consequently not at the Egyptian mint. The problem could be solved by the discovery of a hoard, or even of individual specimens, in either Syria or Egypt, but the provenance of the few recorded coins appears to be completely unknown. Mints, like entities, are not to be multiplied *praeter necessitatem*, but on present evidence I am inclined to think that the balance of probability is in favour of Alexandretta, and to ascribe to Nicetas the bold policy of attempting to seize Cyprus and secure, at any rate, a lodgement on the Syrian coast at the very moment that the *comes orientis* was attacking him in Egypt. If this were so, it would have provided a good precedent for the later policy of Heraclius in attacking Chosroes in his own land at the very moment that a Persian host lay encamped on the Asiatic shore before Constantinople.

The "one-bust" series of consular coins still remains to be considered. It comprises a single denomination of silver and four denominations of bronze, all of them with prototypes from the reign of Phocas and all of them struck at Carthage. The consular title is identical with that on the gold coins, save that on the smaller coins (the silver and the 10 and 5 nummi pieces) the initial DN is omitted, probably from considerations of size; the legend is in the dative singular case (ЄRACʎIO CONSVʎI). The bust, with its long hair and beard and consular robes and cross on the head, closely resembles the right-hand bust on the gold, but differs from it in being provided with the eagle-headed sceptre of office. I have already suggested that the reason for the omission of this symbol on the gold was the impropriety that might have been felt in giving it to one of the figures and not to the other.

Since these coins are not dated, as are the solidi, we cannot attribute them to the years 608–610 with quite the same degree of certainty that we can the gold. But the virtual identity of bust and legend in the two series, and in particular the use of a characteristic form of ʎ in the legend, creates an overwhelming presumption that they were struck at the same time. The fact that only one bust appears on the silver and bronze, and two on the gold, is capable of a simple explanation. The silver and bronze would scarcely circulate at all

outside the province in which they were struck, and for their acceptance the authority and name of the exarch alone would suffice. But the gold would circulate more widely, and it was necessary on it to indicate that the consul did not himself aspire to supreme power, but had a colleague who would eventually take precedence over and supplant him. Hence two busts were necessary on the gold and on the bronze struck at "Alexandria" and in Cyprus, regions over which the authority of the "consul" did not extend. The "one-bust" consular series was in fact intended simply to supply the local needs of Africa until a regular imperial coinage could again be established.

There is one more point that remains to be discussed: the date of the anonymous bronze of Carthage[30] of the reign of Heraclius.

This coinage consists of two denominations of bronze, the follis and the half-follis [**Pl. VI, 12, 13**]. The obverse shows a standing figure of an unnamed sovereign, crowned, and holding a long cross and a globus cruciger. The crown is adorned with a trefoil ornament or a cross, and different specimens show a good deal of variety in the imperial costume; on some it is clearly a cuirass and military cloak, on others it is some form of court dress. The legend is ЄN TȢTO NIKA, *Hoc signo victor eris*, the words which promised victory to Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge and which refer to the cross-standard that the emperor holds. The reverse is M (or K) with three crosses and the exergual CRTG; there is neither date nor *officina* letter. The follis is very rare, the half-follis quite common.[31]

This series, though anonymous, can be ascribed on grounds of style and fabric, and on the evidence of hoards, to the reign of

[30] I have excluded from consideration the anonymous bronze of Alexandria, the dating of which is a problem to itself. But I am inclined to the belief that at least the better struck specimens of the coins with standing figure (Wroth, pl. xxvi. 11) may date from the period of the revolt of 608/10.

[31] It may be noted that the 40 nummi pieces of Carthage struck by Justin II and his successors are all very rare, while most of the lower denominations are common. The reason seems to be that the mint struck only 40 nummi pieces during the years (534–539) immediately following the conquest of the country from the Vandals, presumably in order to withdraw the Vandal coinage from circulation as quickly and cheaply as possible. The quantity struck was so great that it sufficed the needs of the community for the century that followed. But the lower denominations did not share in this great re-striking of the Vandal bronze by Justinian, and there had consequently to be several issues of the fractional bronze coinage during the reign of each of his successors.

Heraclius.[32] Wroth dated it doubtfully *c.* 629, on the ground that the type and legend might refer to the recovery of the Holy Rood from the Persians and its restoration to Jerusalem in that year.[33] But it is difficult to see why Carthage alone of the great mints of the empire should have seen fit to celebrate the recovery of the True Cross in this way. The legend, and the historical circumstances behind it, point to a victory in the future and not to one already accomplished, and if the coins were struck in *c.* 629 one would expect them to bear the emperor's name and not to be anonymous. Everything seems to me to point to an earlier date. The historical parallel between the position of Heraclius in 608/10 and that of Constantine must have seemed overwhelming, with Phocas combining the roles of Maxentius and Licinius in his own person. Though the coins were struck at Carthage, their Greek legends and the fact that their values are expressed as M and K, not as XXXX and XX, implies that they were intended as export to the east; carried far afield by the exarch's troops, they would serve as excellent propaganda for the rebels. Even if Heraclius actually sailed, as Theophanes relates, with the banners of the Virgin at his masthead, his devotion to the cross[34] had already been shown by his replacement of the "Victory" by the "Cross" reverse on the gold

[32] There is a second series of folles only, with similar obverses but considerable variety of reverses, which was struck later in the century by Constans II (Wroth, pp. 268 ff.). Some of these were struck at Constantia in Cyprus, and not (as Wroth has it) at Constantinople (A. Westholm, "A Hoard of Bronze Coins of Constans II", *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1940, pp. 134–47). A. R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928–1934* (American Numismatic Society: Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 81, New York, 1938), pp. 138–9, argues that *all* the anonymous bronze with a single standing figure belongs to the reign of Constans II. This seems to me quite out of the question. The series from Carthage is of altogether superior workmanship and design, quite different from the wretched, irregularly shaped products of the eastern mints under Constans II. I cannot doubt that it is much earlier in date, and that the ascription to Heraclius is correct.

[33] Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 234, n. 2. Tolstoi (p. 638) is reasonably sceptical.

[34] It was, of course, the Christogram that Constantine caused to be painted on the shields of his soldiers, but ecclesiastical influence was steadily directed towards the replacement of the Christogram by the Cross; cf. A. Alföldi, "Hoc signo victor eris. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen", in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums F. J. Dölger dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), pp. 6 ff., and the same author's *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, transl. H. Mattingly (Oxford, 1948), p. 42, n. 4. So, despite the legend, we here find that the Christogram is replaced by a long cross.

coinage of Carthage and Alexandria; on the second issue (611/13) of solidi of his reign (Wroth, pl. xxiii. 2–3) the globus cruciger was to occupy a conspicuous place on the front of the imperial helmet, where it had not previously been seen. The probability that this anonymous coinage should be ascribed to the years of the revolt is undoubtedly very strong, though absolute certainty could only be attained by the evidence of overstrikes or hoards, and I know of none of either that are decisive in the matter.[35]

APPENDIX

The list of consular and anonymous coins that follows is not intended to be a corpus of all recorded specimens, but in the rare "two-bust" series I have thought it worth while to note—and to illustrate as far as possible—every specimen known to me. The numbering corresponds to that in the list given at the beginning of the paper.

(i) "Two-bust" Series

Gold

1. (i) *Obv.* DMNHERACAICONSVAIIB Two busts facing in consular robes, that of the younger Heraclius (without beard) on l., that of his father the exarch (bearded) on r.; above their heads, cross.

   Rev. VICTORIA CONSVAIIB Cross potent on three steps; in ex., CONOB.

   British Museum (Wroth, p. 231, no. 338; pl. xxvii. 12 = Tolstoi, no. 190). 16 mm., 4·35 gm. ↑↓ **[Pl. V.]**

   For a full discussion of this coin, struck at Carthage in 608/9, see my previous article, "Dated Solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius", pp. 67–8, nos. 32–3.

Coins of the same type, but with date IA and minted in 608, were no doubt struck, but I know of no specimen.

(ii) Same, but with obv. legend beginning DN instead of DMN and legends ending IΓ instead of IB.

   Tolstoi, no. 191 (his collection = Montagu Sale [Paris, 20.iv.96], Lot 1118). 16 mm., 4·45 gm. **[Pl. V.]**

   Struck at Carthage in 609/10.

Probably solidi with IΔ, struck in September/October 610 before the news of Heraclius' success had reached Carthage, will come to light sooner or later.

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[35] Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 235, no. 351, notes the existence of a specimen overstruck on a "consular" half-follis, which does not indicate anything either way.

2. *Obv.* DNЄRACLIOCONSVLIBA Two busts, bareheaded and bearded, in consular robes, facing; above their heads, cross. Heavy wreath-like border.

Rev. VICTORI AAVCCΓ Cross potent on four steps; in ex., CONOB.

(*a*) British Museum (Wroth, p. 232, no. 340; pl. xxvii. 14 = Montagu Sale, Lot 1119). 20 mm., 4·51 gm. ↑↓ [**Pl. V.**]

(*b*) Vienna, Bundessammlung. 20 mm., 4·46 gm. ↑↓ Same dies as (*a*). [**Pl. V.**]

(*c*) Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library (= Ratto Sale [Lugano, 9.xii.30], Lot 1377). 21 mm. Same obv. die as (*a*). [**Pl. V.**]

(*d*) New York, Museum of the American Numismatic Society. 20 mm., 4·44 gm. ↑↓ Same obv. die as (*a*). [**Pl. V.**]

These four coins have the same obverse die, but three different reverse dies. (*a*) is a remarkable coin to handle; the reverse is a normal one for solidi of the period, while the obverse is unlike that of anything I know of apart from this group of coins, with the type crudely outlined in high relief on a perfectly flat surface. To the touch as well as to the eye the obverse and reverse are quite unrelated in workmanship to each other, and the only explanation I can see for this is that the obverse is a newly cut die made by unskilful workmen at Alexandria, while the reverse is an old die of a coin of Tiberius II, presumably from the same mint. The same is necessarily true of the Vienna specimen (*b*), and Mr. George C. Miles, who has been kind enough to examine the one in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, informs me that it is the case also with (*d*). With regard to the reverse of (*c*) it is difficult to pronounce definitely without having handled the coin; it may be the same as the others, or it may have been newly cut in 608 after the other was worn out.

There seems no reason to doubt that the letters IBA are, as Tolstoi supposed, a blunder for IIA; the letter B is in fact blurred, as if an attempt had been subsequently made to alter it.

3. *Obv.* As last.

Rev. VICTORIA CONSΛBIA Cross potent on four steps; in ex., CONOB. Heavy wreath-like border.

(*a*) Tolstoi, no. 192 (his collection = Montagu Sale, Lot 1117). 21 mm., 4·4 gm. [**Pl. V.**]

(*b*) British Museum (Wroth, p. 231, no. 339; pl. xxvii. 13; bought from C. G. Huber, Austrian consul in Egypt). 21 mm., 4·41 gm. ↑↓ (With COИOB.) [**Pl. V.**]

(*c*) Specimen illustrated in *Revue Numismatique*, 2nd ser. ii (1857), pl. vii. 1; then in the Montigny Collection. 22 mm. (With COИOB.)

(*d*) Alexandria Museum, from Chatby Hoard of 1903; illustrated

(not very correctly; it omits the final A on obv. and reads Λ for A twice on rev.) in *Revue belge de numismatique*, lxi (1905), p. 158. 19 mm. The weight is given (? correctly) as 3 gm.

The die linkages here are of great importance. (*a*) has the same obverse die as the four specimens of 2; it is thus linked with the group with Tiberius reverses. (*b*) and (*c*) are from the same pair of dies, both obverse and reverse. (*d*), so far as one can judge from a line engraving, has the same obverse die as (*b*) and the same reverse die as (*a*), though the first of these identities is less certain than is the second. The whole group is thus tightly linked up, both within itself and with the other Alexandrian group. One may date these coins 608, the circumstances of their striking being apparently those described in the text above.

The reverse legend on these coins and the next series (4), with CONSΛB instead of CONSVΛI, is difficult to explain. Possibly the impression at Alexandria was that the younger Heraclius, as well as his father, was consul, and the abbreviation stood for *consulibus*.

4. (i) *Obv.* DMNHЄRACΛIOCONSVΛIIA As 1, but larger flan.
Rev. VICTORIA CONSΛBIA Cross potent on three steps; in ex., CONOB.
(*a*) Evans Sale (Naville III, Geneva, 16.vi.22), Lot 308 = Weber Sale (Hirsch XXIV, Munich, 10.v.09), Lot 3114 = specimen illustrated in *Revue numismatique*, N.S. v (1860), pl. vii. 1 (then in H. Zaepffel Collection). 21 mm., 4·42 gm. **[Pl. V.]**
(*b*) Paris, B.N., but rev. legend VICTORI ACONSΛBIA. 19 mm., 4·45 gm. (Doubly pierced.) ↑↓ **[Pl. V.]** Same obv. die as (*a*).
(*c*) Alexandria Museum, from Chatby Hoard of 1903; illustrated (? correctly) in *Revue belge de numismatique*, lxi (1905), p. 158, the legends being given as DMNЄRACLIOCONSVLIB and VICTORIA CONSΛBIΛ, with ex. COИOB. 21 mm., 4·3 gm.

Dated 607/8, and no doubt struck during 608. All the coins of this group have the characteristic form of Λ (for Λ) also found on the Carthaginian series (1), and are certainly from the hand of the same die-sinker.

(ii) *Obv.* DMNHЄRΛCΛICONSVΛIIB As last.
Rev. As last, but CONSΛBIB
(*a*) Tolstoi, no. 187 (his collection). 20 mm., 4·4 gm. **[Pl. V.]**
(*b*) British Museum (Wroth, p. 231, no. 337; pl. xxvii. 11 = the specimen illustrated (not accurately) in *Revue numismatique*, N.S. ii (1857), pl. vii. 2; then in H. Zaepffel Collection). 21·5 mm., 4·45 gm. ↑↓ **[Pl. V.]**

Dated 608/9. The two coins both have the same reverse dies; it is not

clear from the photograph of the Tolstoi specimen whether they have also identical obverse dies, but it seems likely that they have.

(iii) *Obv.* DMNHЄRACLICONSVΛIIΓ As last.

Rev. As last, but CONSΛBIΓ.

Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (Tolstoi, no. 188). 23 mm., 4·5 gm. [**Pl. V.**]

Dated 609/10.

Probably similar coins with endings IΔ were struck in September–October 610, before the success of Heraclius' expedition was known at Alexandria, but no such coins are known.

Bronze

5. (i) *Obv.* ƆMNЄRACLIOCONSULII Two busts facing in consular robes, that of the younger Heraclius (without beard ?) on l., that of his father (bearded) on r.; above their heads, cross. Border of pellets.

Rev. M; above, cross; on l. A N N O (vertical); on r. X over III; below A.

In ex. AΛЄΞANΔ Border of pellets.

(*a*) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (Tolstoi, no. 278 = Photiadès Pacha Sale, Hoffmann, Paris, 23.v.90, Lot 277). 30 mm., 11·15 gm. [**Pl. V.**]

(*b*) Ratto Sale, Lot 1442. 28 mm. (Obv. legend begins ƆMΣЄR, and l. bust bearded.) [**Pl. V.**]

Struck at Alexandretta (?) in 609/10 by the same workmen responsible for no. 6.

(ii) *Obv.* As last, but both busts bearded, that on left with shorter beard than the other.

Rev. As last, but X over IIII.

(*a*) Tolstoi, no. 279 (his collection = Weber Sale, Hirsch XXIV, Munich, 10.v.09, Lot 3115). 29 mm., 8·55 gm. (In ex., AΛЄΞAN.) [**Pl. VI.**]

(*b*) Leningrad, Hermitage Museum (Tolstoi, no. 280 = Photiadès Sale, no. 278 = *Revue numismatique*, 3rd ser., vii (1889), p. 263). 33 mm., 13·65 gm. [Line illustration in *R.N.*]

(*c*) Paris, B.N. Published (but not illustrated) by A. Blanchet in *Revue numismatique*, 3rd ser., xi (1893), p. 46. 30 mm., 11·0 gm. (Obv. legend ends CONSULI.) [**Pl. VI.**]

(*d*) Vienna, Bundessammlung. 32 mm., 9·0 gm. (Obv. legend ends as last.) [**Pl. VI.**]

Struck at Alexandretta (?) in September/October 610, i.e. after the start of the 14th indiction (1 September) but before the news of Heraclius' coronation (5 October) had arrived.

6. *Obv.* As last, but two final letters of legend obscure.

Rev. M; above, cross; on l. ANNO; on r. [X]III; below A; in ex. KYΠPOV.

Ratto Sale, Lot 1438. 27 mm. [**Pl. VI.**]

Struck in Cyprus—probably at the capital, Constantia—in 609/10. Constantia had not previously possessed a mint, and the coin was probably made by local workmen who copied, for the reverse, the consular solidi struck at Alexandria.

(ii) "One-bust" Series

Silver

7. *Obv.* ЄRACΛIO CONSVΛI Bust of Heraclius, beardless, facing, wearing consular robes; on bare head, cross.

Rev. V¦TORA¦C (i.e. *Victoria consuli*) in circle of pellets enclosed in wreath.

Very rare. (*a*) Sabatier (pl. xxviii. 2) from Bigant collection; (*b*) British Museum (Wroth, p. 232, no. 41; pl. xxvii. 15 [13 mm., 0·65 gm.] = Tolstoi, no. 40); (*c*) Ratto Sale, Lot 1290; (*d*) Weber Sale (Hirsch XXIV, Munich, 10.v.09), Lot 3112 (12 mm., 0·71 gm.). [**Pl. VI.**]

Probably a quarter-siliqua. The same denomination was struck at Carthage by Phocas. The cross on the head of Heraclius is clearly not intended as a crown; it is the equivalent of the cross placed centrally between the two heads on the "two-bust" series. I have illustrated the specimen in the Weber Sale, since it is clearer than that in the British Museum.

Bronze

8. *Obv.* DNЄRACΛIO CONSVΛI Bust of Heraclius, bearded, facing; on bare head, cross; wears consular robes and holds in r. sceptre surmounted by eagle.

Rev. XX•XX. Above, cross; to l., star; to r., Є; in ex., KRTϤ.

Very rare, and the few specimens known to me are badly preserved, though that in Sabatier's own collection, if the engraving (pl. xxviii. 3) is accurate, seems to have been very fine. The British Museum specimen (Wroth, p. 234, no. 238; pl. xxvii. 19, obverse only: 23 mm., 16·3 gm.) is poor, and overstruck on a coin of Phocas. Tolstoi (no. 74) only knew of the Sabatier and B.M. specimens, and there was no specimen in the Ratto Sale. There is a specimen among the Davies Sherborn coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum (27 mm., 14·04 gm.); it is the one reproduced here [**Pl. VI**]. Both obverse and reverse types are derived from Carthaginian coins of Phocas, but the choice of the eagle-tipped sceptre was perhaps intended to differentiate the two series; on that of Phocas, the consul

holds a mappa and cross. The significance of Є on the reverse is obscure; it—and also IЄ—occurs on bronze coins of Carthage of Phocas and of Heraclius as emperor, so it cannot be a date, and it is scarcely likely to be an officina when no others for the mint are known.

9. *Obv.* As last.

Rev. X•X. Above, cross; to l., star; to r., Є; in ex., KRTϤ.

Rather rare. Sabatier (pl. xxviii. 4) illustrates one from his own collection; there are two in the British Museum (Wroth, p. 235, nos. 359–60; pl. xxvii. 22: 22, 24 mm., 8·4, 8·9 gm.); there was one in the Ratto Sale (Lot 1328), reading DNЄRACᏆI VSCO[illegible]. Tolstoi (no. 83) had no specimen. The one reproduced [**Pl. VI**] is from among the Davies Sherborn coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum (25 mm., 7·78 gm.). Sabatier (p. 265, no. 5; pl. xxviii. 5) also possessed a variety without star, exergual line, or border. The type is derived from similar coins of Phocas.

10. *Obv.* ЄRACᏆIO CONSVᏆI Type as before.

Rev. ṆXṂ Above, cross; below, star.

Rare. Sabatier (pl. xxviii. 6), from his own collection; British Museum (Wroth, p. 236, nos. 366–8; pl. xxvii. 26: 16–18 mm., 3·0–4·5 gm.); Tolstoi, nos. 84 (his collection; var. with ——I O——), 85 (B.M.); Ratto, Lots 1329–30. The specimen illustrated [**Pl. VI**] is in the B.M.

11. *Obv.* As last.

Rev. V. Above, cross; on r. and l. star with pellet above and below.

Rare. Sabatier (pl. xxviii. 7), specimens in the B.M. and the Soleirol collections; British Museum (Wroth, p. 237, no. 369; pl. xxvii. 27; 12 mm., 1·9 gm.); Tolstoi, no. 106 (B.M.); Ratto, Lot 1331. The specimen illustrated [**Pl. VI**] is from the B.M.

Most of the above bronze coins have a border of some kind, but it is difficult to distinguish its exact character; sometimes it is of fairly large pellets, but on other specimens these are run so close together that the border is scarcely distinguishable from a linear one. It is also possible that on some, particularly the smaller denominations, the bust is beardless, as Wroth usually describes it as being.

12. *Obv.* ЄNTȣT O NIKA Emperor standing facing, wearing crown (with trefoil ornament), cuirass, and paludamentum, holding long cross in r. and globus cruciger in l.

Rev. M. Above, and to l. and r., cross; in ex., CRTϤ.

Author's collection. 24 mm., 9·20 gm. ↑↓ [**Pl. VI.**]

Very rare. A specimen (with cross on crown, and different type of dress) is illustrated in Sabatier, pl. xxviii. 26, but there is none in the British Museum, and the Sabatier specimen was the only one known to Tolstoi (no. 73). There was none in the Ratto Sale.

13. *Obv.* Same, but the crown is ornamented with a cross and on most specimens the emperor wears long robes.

Rev. K. Above, and to l. and r., cross; in ex., CRTϤ.

Common. Sabatier, pl. xxviii. 29; Wroth, nos. 349–53; Tolstoi, no. 79; Ratto Sale, Lot 1332; three specimens in author's collection, &c. The specimen illustrated [**Pl. VI**] is among the Davies Sherborn coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (19 mm., 4·5 gm.).

The great variety in costume found in this issue suggests that the mint officials received a rather general direction for coins showing a standing imperial figure with long cross and globus cruciger, and were left to make what they could of it.

PHILIP GRIERSON



CONSULAR COINAGE OF HERACLIUS 1





5(ii)*a* 5 (ii)*c* 5(ii)*d*









7*d*





9

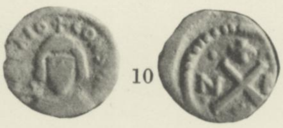
8

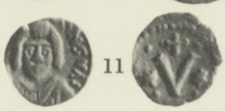
6*a*





10





11



12



13

CONSULAR COINAGE OF HERACLIUS 2